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THE Lord Haversham's SPEECH In the HOUSE of PEERS, *Wednesday* the 12th of *January*, 170$\frac{8}{9}$. On the late intended Invasion of *SCOTLAND*.

BRITISH MUSEUM

My Lords,

I Have a greater Respect for your Lordships than to keep you in any Expectation, there's nothing I can say, I am sure, can in the least deserve it.

My Lords. When the Campaign was at an End, when a Land Tax lay on your Table, when the due Respect had been paid to that Sorrow, in which we all bear a part, when the Session of Parliament was so greatly advanc'd, and a long Recess so near at hand, I thought it might be a proper Time to put your Lordships in mind *of the late intended Invasion*; and the rather, because *an Enquiry into this*, seem'd to me, to be what the Nation expected, and what I have observ'd even those who have differ'd in their Thoughts about it, yet unanimously desir'd; but above all, because it is a Matter, in which not only our Welfare and Happiness, but our very Being it self, the Security of the Nation, and the Safety of Her Majesty, are so highly concern'd.

I did endeavour to prove the first of these to your Lordships, when I made you this Motion, by Reasons taken from the Flourishing of your Trade, the Support of your Credit, the Nature of your Victories, and the Quieting of Mens Minds at Home; and shall now, with your Lordships Leave, say a few Words to the other part, and shew your Lordships how much this Enquiry concerns us all in point of Safety.

Some perhaps may think, That after such wonderful Successes Abroad, as we have had the last Year, after the French King has lost Lisle, and been forc'd to abandon Ghent and Bruges; to speak to your Lordships of any Danger at Home, or to have the least Apprehension from such a Baffl'd Enemy, were to expose the Weakness of a Man's own Judgment, but I shall endeavour to shew [illegible]

how dangerous a Miſtake this is, from Example, Reaſon and Authority, the three beſt Arguments I know to prove any Truth.

My Lords Were not Hochſtet and Ramillies as Glorious Victories, and as great Mortifications to the French King, as our taking of Liſle, or reducing of Ghent, and yet after ſuch intire Victories, ſuch repeated Defeats, had not this haughty Neighbour of ours, the Preſumption the laſt Year, to attempt the *Setting a Pretender upon Her Majeſty*'s Throne? And can we reaſonably promiſe our ſelves any Security when ever he is in a Condition to give us the leaſt Diſturbance? And is he not in a Condition? Is he not as near us this Year as he was laſt, notwithſtanding all our Conqueſts? That's an Advantage our Allies only have by them, to have their Enemy at a greater Diſtance. Has he not as many Ships, and as many Friends too, except one, as I mention'd to your Lordſhips? Nay My Lords, Has he not as great Encouragment to renew his Attempt as he had to undertake it, as I ſhall preſently ſhew your Lordſhips; from whence then does our great Security ariſe? Beſides, My Lords, What is yet further, Every Body is convinc'd by the inconſiderable Force, the ſmall Number of Ships and Troops, the French King imploy'd in the late Attempt upon us the laſt Year, That his chief Dependance was upon the Incouragment and Promiſes of Aſſiſtance he had from hence; and yet notwithſtanding all our Enquiries, is it not as great a Myſtery to this Day as it was, who the Perſons amongſt us are, who were concerned in this black and unnatural Treaſon.

'Tis true, My Lords, ſeveral Perſons of great Quality and Intereſt have been taken up upon Suſpicion, brought from their own Homes and Country, whilſt others thereby have had the Opportunity of Supplanting them in their Intereſt there; 'tis not for me to ſay whether this proceeded from ill Will to ſome, or Favour to others, but has any thing been proved againſt them? Does not the Bail that has been given for them, and their Sitting in this Houſe, convince every Body of their Innocency; ſo that this way of proceeding has rather proved Vexatious to the Subject, than any real Security to the Government, and I hope will make us for the future, ſet a greater Value upon our Habeas Corpus Act, *which was the Right of every Subject before, by Common Law.*

Nor has the Characters that have been made of Perſons to be ſuſpected, had any better effect; there are two I ſhall mention to your Lordſhips, and I think greater Miſtakes than both of them can ſcarce be put into Words; the firſt is, That Men of Arbitrary Principles are the Perſons who ought to be ſuſpected; this Argument has been very much labour'd, and gerat Pains has been taken to preſwade the World from Mens Practices in former Reigns, that they are ſtill of Arbitrary Principles, and from thence 'tis inferr'd they ought to be ſuſpected. I ſhall not trouble your Lordſhips or my ſelf at preſent to ſhew the Weakneſs of this Argument. I will take it as they that have made uſe of it wou'd have it, for a ſtrong and undeniable Conſequence, and then I ask, What, My Lords, is the Nation to ſuſpect any who are at the Head of your Miniſtry, of giving this Incouragement to your Enemy? For I will be bold to ſay in this Place, if this be a good Argument, it is as ſtrong againſt ſome who are at the Head of your Miniſtry, as againſt any Man I know of who is out of it.

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There is another Character of Suſpitious Perſons, which I cannot but take Notice of, becauſe I take it to be very fatal to the Freedom of Parliament, for it is impoſſible for any Man to take notice, either in Parliament, or to the Queen Herſelf, of any wrong Meaſures, or falſe Step in the Management of Publick Affairs without ſo far reflecting on the Miniſtry, and if this is to be interpreted as an Artful Method of leſſening Her Majeſty's Juſt Eſteem of Her Miniſters, and thoſe who do ſo are to be mark'd as Dangerous to the Safety of Her Majeſty's Perſon, and the preſent Eſtabliſhment. I am afraid Her Majeſty for the future may have ſeveral Things conceal'd from Her, which might be for Her Service to know, and one of the great Ends and Uſes of Parliaments, the Redreſſing of Grievances, and keeping great Men in Awe, will quickly be laid aſide. *But, My Lords*, we have a very viſible Inſtance, that this is a great Miſtake, for do we not ſee thoſe Lords, who the laſt Year eſpouſed the Caſe and Complaint of the Merchants in Parliament: now advanced to the greateſt Places of Truſt and Power, ſo that theſe two Methods have rather ſhewed us, who ought not, than who are to be ſuſpected.

My Lords, I ſhall now take Leave to ſay one Word to the poſitive Part, and if we would apply in Obſervation of the Schools to the Caſe in hand, I believe it would ſet this Matter in the trueſt Light. They tell us there is a great difference to be made between a Diviſion and a Diſtinction: Every Diviſion is indeed a Diſtinction, but every Diſtinction is not a Diviſion; the Soul and the Body are diſtinct but they are not divided, for that would be a State of Death; it is ſo in this Caſe. The Papiſt, Jacobite, and Nonjuror, are a Party of Men divided from the reſt of the Nation; they want that forma informans, as they call it, that vital Spirit of Love and Loyalty that animates every good Subject: But as for others, however they may be diſtinguiſh'd, and differ among themſelves in their Notions relating either to Eccleſiaſtical or Civil Policy, yet they ſeem all to have the ſame Regard and Concern for the Honour and Safety of Her Majeſty and Government I would not be miſunderſtood, as if I did not think ſome of all Perſuaſions may be faulty: I know, that even among the Apoſtles themſelves, *He that bore the Bag prov'd the Traytor*: My meaning only is, That thoſe who have taken the Teſt to the Government, may at leaſt pretend to an equal Degree of your Charity with thoſe who never yet own'd it; and it is theſe Perſons who never ſwore to the Government, that Her Majeſty directly points at, in Her laſt Speech to Her laſt Parliament; for after ſhe has been pleas'd to ſay, It is certain we muſt be all inexcuſable, if we do not take warning from this Attempt to complete what may be neceſſary for our Security at Home, and the diſcouraging the like for the future; to which, by God's Bleſſing, there ſhall be nothing wanting on my part. In the following Paragraph She is pleas'd to add, 'I muſt recommend to you, at your Return into your ſeveral Countries, to uſe your utmoſt Care and Diligence in putting the Laws in Execution againſt Papiſts, aud all others diſaffected to my Government, and in making them pay towards the Publick Taxes to the full of what the Law requires from them: Nothing being more reaſonable than that they, who by their Principles and Practices encourage (if not actually foment) ſuch Diſturbances, ſhould doubly contribute to the Charge of Quieting them, ſecuring the Kingdom's Peace, and ſhould know themſelves on all ſuch Occaſions

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to be responsible for the many Inconveniencies that may ensue; Which Two Paragraphs will, I hope, Justifie what I have taken Notice of to your Lordships.

My Lords, I do not forget the Obligation I am under to a Noble Lord, and therefore shall now shew your Lordships, That notwithstanding the French King failed in his late Attempt upon us, *yet he has more Encouragement to renew it, than he had at first to undertake it*: And, *My Lords*, I think a great deal that I have said to your Lordships proves it. Is it not a great Encouragement to him, to see notwithstanding so many Friends that he has amongst us, *all the Methods that we have hitherto taken has signify'd so little to discover any of them*? And that those Methods have not been taken, that might perhaps have signify'd more towards Discovery, and have made use of at other Times; I mean *Promises both of Pardon and Reward*. Does he not see how easily he can shake *the main Pillar that supppports all our Commerce, I mean the Bank*? Was it not in danger of Breaking? And has it recover'd the Blow to this Day that he gave it? For *My Lords*, If Men cannot be Masters of their own Money, which they trust any Body, upon no other Reason but that they may command it again in any Case of Necessity *without being look'd upon as Suspected Persons*, I believe Men will be so wise as to secure both their Money and themselves too from any such Danger. There is another Encouragement which he has, *My Lords*, and that is the *Weak and Defenceless Condition of Scotland, the Deficiency of Force, and ill State of your Garisons there, at the Time of the Invasion*, notwithstanding the certain Accounts and Knowledge we had of it. What, *My Lords*, Will no Alarm awaken us? Will the Scales never fall off from our Eyes? *Must some Mens mighty Services prevent our looking into others great Miscarriages*? And must this poor Nation be eternally rawn asunder by the Struggles of Contending Parties? *My Lords*, I hope it is not thought that I have been thus urgent with your Lordships from any Fears of Personal Danger: I am content to take my Lot with others as it falls, whatever it be; but I am afraid *lest Her Majesty should be dethron'd while she lives, and that the Destruction of Popery or Slavery, whilst we are speaking Peace Peace to ourselves should suddenly, like a Flood, break in upon us.*

My Lords, If your Lorships have any Intention of looking into this Matter, I shall make your Lordships a Motion which perhaps may give us some Light; it is indeed a Complex one, and rather a Schedule of Papers; it is, *That Her Majesty will please to order that there may be laid before this House; At what Time Her Majesty receiv'd the first Account of the Intended Invasion? What Orders were thereupon issued into Scotland, with Relation either to the Forces or Garisons? What was the Number of Regular Troops and Forces there, at the Time of this Intelligence? What was the State of the Garisons there at that Time? What Augmentation was made, or Forces sent thither from the Time of the Intelligence to the Time of the Invasion? What Orders has been given with Relation to the Garisons, and when, both before and since the Invasion, from the Time of the first Intelligence?*

London, Printed: and Reprinted, and Sold at the Union Coffee-House on Cork-Hill, Dublin, 1708-24 OC 58